565 time of inheritance, so the contrast between the rich and the poor was not striking. In effect, except for the political and ethnic class lines between the ruling Japanese and the ruled Formosans, social stratification was not clearly marked during the Japanese rule.

After the restoration of Formosa to China in 1945, political and ethnic class lines disappeared with the abolition of the colonial system. With the implementation of the Land-to-the-Tiller policy, inequality in land proprietorship was greatly reduced. When the China Mainland was lost to the Communists in 1949, tycoons transferred their capital to other parts of the world, so that there are no extremely wealthy people in Formosa. New industrial development after the restoration may cause economic differentiation in the future, but for the time being, social stratification is not a serious problem in Formosa. This is the general outline. Some specific topics will be considered on the following section.

2. Primary and Secondary Ownership of Land

471 Until the early years of the Manchu rule
•425 the land in the southern part of the island was agriculturally exploited under the protection of the government. When people began to farm the northern and middle part of the island,

471 they had to rely on themselves. Usually rich
425 and influential people received land grants from the government. Then they hired farmers, supplied them with capital, and organized self-protection forces against bandit and aborigine raids. In return, the owner received rent from the cultivators. Legally he was the proprietor and landlord. When a cultivator was assigned a large patch of land, he could rent some parts of it out to other cultivators, and thus in a sense he also became a landlord. In this case there were two proprietors for the same patch of land. This is the origin of primary and secondary ownership of land in Formosa. The original proprietor held the first title, the second proprietor held the second title to the land. The cultivator paid rent to the second proprietor, and the second proprietor paid rent to the first proprietor. The first proprietor, as the nominal owner of the land, paid the land tax to the government. Sometimes with the connivance of officials, an influential man could get the first title to certain land without any investment and collect the rent.

423 This complicated system of land ownership resembled somewhat the Oberhoheit and Unterhoheit of medieval Germany, and the landlords' control of the self-protection forces tended toward a kind of feudal system. Moreover, this system made the transfer of

423 425 427 Another effect of the rent reduction is the steady decline in the price of land cultivated by tenant farmers, because the reduction of rent has lessened the landlords' interest in making investments in land and stimulated their desire to sell it. At the same time, the increase of farm income has enabled some tenant farmers to buy land. According to the statistics of the enforcement of the Rent Limitation Program compiled by the Provincial Land Bureau, 66,328 tenant families bought 35,522 chia (85,139 acres) during the five-year period[10] from 1949 to 1953.

B. Sale of Public Lands

423 The reduction of rent relieves the tenant farmer of his excessive financial burden, but it does not satisfy his wish to own the land he tills. The ultimate object of land reform is to help the tenant to realize his cherished dream of owning the land he and his forefathers have tilled for decades.

Over 20 per cent (181,490 chia or 434,900 acres) of the total arable lands[11] in Formosa belonged to the government. They

10. T'ang Hui-sun, op. cit., p. 64.

11. Total area of farmland in Formosa in 1949 was 891,689 chia, or 1,137,200 acres, and public land amounted to 181,490 chia, or 434,000 acres.